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The Reply

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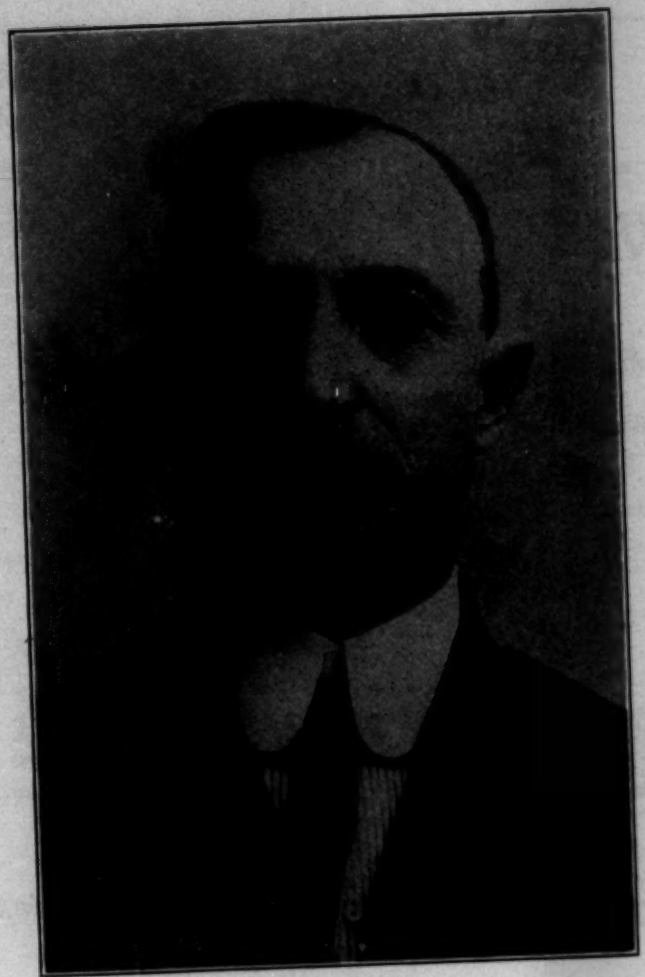

F. G. R. GORDON

A Representative Trade Unionist and an Expert on Immigration

The Reply

An Anti-Suffrage Magazine

March, 1914

EDITORIAL

IT SEEMS fitting that some voice should be raised, not in defense, but in appreciation, of the American Man. THE REPLY wishes to go on record as endorsing the following words of the Honorable Stanley E. Bowdle of Ohio, as expressing our views of our countrymen:

"I stand here as the apostle of the old man—mere man—tyrannical man. The old fellow who brings home the rent—who eats out of a kettle at noon—and fills it with kindling to carry home in the evening. The old fellow who pays for the food and heat and light, who puts up the insurance premiums, and occasionally wrestles with a chattel mortgage—and who does trifling things like that. I represent the old fellow about whom little poetry is written, who buys the millinery and high-priced clothes, and theatre tickets, who gets black looks when the struggle gets hard and the money short. I stand here for that common old fellow who has gallantly made a legal condition of refuge for women, who has secured for them an interest in his property so that he cannot mortgage or dispose of his own without woman's consent. The old duffer who has created a condition of refuge where she, and her private fortune, are immune even from creditors who have furnished her the very food she eats and Paris clothes that she wears—that old fellow, that tyrant, who has secured to her all rights of contract enjoyed by himself, all the privileges of civil life with few of its duties or responsibilities—the old codger who furnishes the world with a meal ticket, who struggles on amid a harsh civilization while multitudes of (her) parade our streets, wearing beautiful clothing. I stand here as the apostle of the old fellow who has hewn the wood and drawn the water, who has tunneled out mountains, who has bridged our rivers, who has built our railroads, who has endured the privations of construction camps, who has breathed the compressed air in caissons, who has united our continents by marvelous marine greyhounds, who has, with infinite thought and back-breaking labor, constructed the astonishing apparatus of civilization, and all that is worthy, up-to-date in government, and who now stands in the presence of it all wearing plain clothes, holding up horny hands, weary in body and mind, quietly receiving the assurances that he is indeed a tyrant. That plain old fellow I stand for who has fought the bloody battles of

the world, who has filled the war trenches with himself—who in times of peace and in hours of prosperity has not sought for or married duchesses, or princesses of the blood, who has married American women. Yes, I represent him who has lied for and died for women, him who in America is so gallant toward her that a jury (of him) will not believe him when a woman is involved, and this though he knows full well that in court and out of it she is quite as capable of dissimulation as himself."

The American Man needs no defense, unless patience with the hysterical folly of a notoriety-seeking minority of his womankind can be termed a fault. We would, however, suggest that he is allowing himself to be relegated to the background, by the women who are constantly referring to him scornfully as "mere man." Undoubtedly this is but a passing phase in the general development, but the true American Woman is proud of her mankind and longs for him (as he will in his own good time)to rouse himself and assert his legal power, before it becomes necessary to use the physical power, that may yet be needed in a sex war, against Woman Suffragists and Socialists.

IN A late Fall number of the Saturday Evening Post, there appeared an article entitled "Suffragizing Tammany," which might well cause the men of New York to stop and think. It is impossible to follow the evolution of the Suffrage campaign, as presented, without serious misgivings as to the purifying influence of women in politics, and it does not augur well for New York, or the country in general, when, as is here shown, Suffragists take to Tammany methods like ducks to water. According to the writer, the "Suffragizing of Tammany" began five years ago, with the effort, on the part of one small woman, to pledge a Tammany Assemblyman to vote for the Suffrage bill, then about to come up at Albany, and continued until last winter "when Tammany all but gave them (the Suffragists) heart failure, by passing their measure without demur." What it means, the writer seems at a loss to understand, but she emphasizes Tammany as the power that gave these "astute female politicians" their first triumph in New York. "Can it be that Tammany has at last come to tolerate the idea of women voters?"..."If the big organization is so far tamed as to allow that bill to go for ratification to the people, New York will be the scene of a sex war...that will make all similar campaigns appear like a fusillade of Fourth of July firecrackers." "What if the Tammany men are really convinced that women are entitled to vote? What if they would even go so far as to co-operate with them to a slight extent?" "One of the big leaders, who died recently, made the following speech: 'I used to stand on the corner of Wall Street and Broadway at eight o'clock in the morning, and watch them come to work, and there were twice as many men as women; and I said: 'They don't need the vote.' Now I stand there and they split even; and I say: 'Give it to 'em.' " What conclusion can we draw, but that Tammany is counting those votes already? "He who runs" can easily "read" the meaning of the Tammany leader's words, "Give it to 'em." Yes, place them under obligation to the Tiger, teach them the Tiger's methods and those intelligent female "district leaders" who have used these methods, to get their first demand—the ballot—will be quick to see its advantages in securing further favors. Then there are the purchasable votes. Of course there is an added expense, but Tammany is never very poor, and just now might be glad to control some new voters by which, to return to power. We may be wrong, but it looks as if the Suffragists were playing into Tammany's

hand. The Yellow Peril of Woman Suffrage would match up nicely with the Tiger's stripes.

"METHINKS she doth protest too much"—So it would seem do our friends, the Suffragists, when trying to repudiate both the doctrines and practices of Socialism and Feminism. Woman Suffrage is on the defensive, and well it may be. From the leaders to the ubiquitous letter writers to the newspapers, all are rushing into print, to defend the cause from the well-founded charge that the trinity which they worship is Suffrage, Socialism and Feminism. The former, history teaches, is the "child of rationalistic communism" and Socialism is responsible for every particle of Woman Suffrage in this and every other country. Note the fact that in both New Zealand and Australia, the woman's vote is used by Socialistic labor to accomplish its desired ends. Not one law or act for woman's benefit is asked or given. The Socialist party in Australia rules every state except Victoria. In our own land we witness Suffrage parades, largely composed of Socialists, waving the Red flag, marching to the music of the Marseillaise and carrying red banners inscribed, as in Washington (Mar. 3-1913) "One million Socialists work and vote for Woman Suffrage" and in New York (Nov. 1912) "Every Socialist is a Woman Suffragist."

The distinguished head of the Nat'l Woman Suffrage Association, Dr. Shaw, advocates making "Motherhood a government institution"—a cornerstone of Socialist teaching. In the recently published "Facts of Socialism" which claims to answer the question, What is Socialism? the author, Jessie Wallace Hughan, tells us that the "American Socialist works actively for Woman Suffrage, the initiative, referendum, recall and proportional representation, for the abolition of the Senate, of the presidenti veto and of the legislative power of the courts;" also that "Woman Suffrage is a demand that appears in every Socialist platform and is supported vigorously by every Socialist legislator." If Woman Suffrage is Fathered by Socialism surely no one can doubt that it is Mothered by Feminism. We have the word of two unquestioned authorities—W. L. George, prominent spokesman of the movement in England, who says, "Suffrage is but part of the greater propaganda" (of Feminism), and Inez Millholland Boissevain, who claims that Suffrage is only its "Immediate political aspect."

WOMAN SENATOR SUED

New York and other Eastern women did not tear their clothes getting into halls to hear Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, Colorado's woman Senator, lecture on how the fair sex won the ballot in the West.

Miss Helen Dewey, press agent, and Mrs. Robinson agreed to split the net gate receipts "fifty-fifty." Yonkers netted $9.35, Poughkeepsie showed a profit of $8.80, Jersey City swelled the profits $7.50 more and Chester, Penn., established a high run with $10.10. Other lectures in the vicinity of New York brought the grand total of the tour up to $142.

When Miss Dewey sued for her share yesterday a constable from the 9th District Court went to the Hotel McAlpin to summon Senator Robinson. It was reported there that she had left the city.

Some Thinks on Woman and Her Desire for Equal Powers and Equal Duties With Man

By F. G. R. Gordon

Fred G. R. Gordon, a representative Trade Unionist, writer and a lecturer on economic problems, was born in Walden, Vt., September 4, 1860. He is an entirely self-educated man as he went to work as a bread-winner at the age of 13. In 1878 he joined the Greenback Party, was a member for several years of the Knights of Labor and of the Nationalist Club of Boston. In 1895 he was elected secretary of the Shoe Workers' convention, which founded the Boot & Shoe Makers' Union. In 1897 he became a member of the Social Democracy, but soon found that he did not agree with its platform and tactics. For several months he was an associate editor of the Appeal to Reason. In 1902 he started the first Anti-Socialist newspaper in America—The Million—and conducted the campaign against the Socialist Party in Haverhill, Brockton and in Massachusetts in general. The Socialists were defeated with a loss of most of their officials and a loss of 10,000 votes in the state. He has written probably more for newspaper and magazines, in opposition to Socialism and public ownership than any other American. He was appointed as a special U. S. immigrant inspector in 1908 and served in that office until 1913. In addition to his other work he has written and lectured extensively on the problems of Immigration.

Mrs. Pankhurst, the militant suffragette of England, is a socialist as was her husband before he died. Both were members of the Independent Labor Party, a socialist party, and the insane desire for the destruction of property, for mob violence, etc., etc., comes partly from such affiliation no doubt. But this only shows what a lot of insanity we should add to the governing force if we were to give the franchise to the women.

* * *

Imagine a woman enjoying all the rights of man in an attempt to rescue a child from a ten-story building with a hobble skirt!!

* * *

Americans have more than a thousand millions of dollars invested in Mexico, and they are taxed on this vast property too, yet, they have absolutely no representation in the government of that nation, or as to how their taxes shall be expended. Did you ever hear any complaints about this on the part of those investors or anyone else?

* * *

There was a time when this cry of "taxation without representation" was about the only argument, and certainly it was the only slogan, that the women suffragettes had for a war-cry. But this "logic" and this "argument" has been relegated to the ash heap and will hold water no longer.

* * *

Now-a-days many thousand women own property in states other than those in which they reside. So do men. They certainly do not have any representation for the taxes which they pay annually.

For a good many years now the women have had equal powers in the State of Colorado with men and yet can anyone honestly say that there has been

any improvement in the government of that state? Take the city of Denver for instance: The writer has spent several weeks in that city. The red light district flourishes just as it did before women shared the responsibility of municipal administration with men. The saloon is doing business on the same old stand, the police court is the same as ever, only a little worse if anything in the number of crimes it has to handle, and neither in its cities or in the state as a whole are they anywhere near so advanced as the good old state of Massachusetts.

* * *

If there was anything in this idea that equal suffrage was to help mankind in its upward progress for a better and a wiser civilization, we ought to have discovered it long before this in the government of those states which have enjoyed woman's aid in the government of those commonwealths.

* * *

The history of the world shows that women have been responsible for many wars. Maybe this is one of the reasons why those English suffragettes take so kindly to the destruction of other people's property.

* * *

Logical socialists realize that Socialism is impossible without the vote of the women. No wonder they are enthusiastic advocates for the cause.

* * *

If we are to double the number of voters, then we shall double the cost of elections and at least add, logically, a large sum to the already high cost of government.

* * *

And speaking of the high cost of government, few people realize that the average cost of government in this nation to-day (Federal, State and County and Municipal), is more than five dollars a week for every famiy (average). And the very reason for this great cost is the fact that cheap politicians get into office wth the promise of "doing something" for the people, and so because there are so many voters who have little knowledge for what they are voting and care less, we are being governed to death, almost, by a flood of new legislation which seeks to regulate all the affairs of mankind, with the possible exception of the birth rate and ingrowing toe-nails!! And this costs money. The price we pay for government is reflected in the price of your sirloin steak, in your rents, in every place and every thing where you spend money.

To double the vote of the nation would mean that within five years we would add to the cost of government more than a million dollars a day, and perhaps two or three times as much. The disadvantages far out-weight any possible advantages.

* * *

"Give us the vote" cries an advocate of "votes for women," and she added: "by giving us the vote you will double the number of intelligent voters in this nation."

In the first place it is doubtful if we should double the number of intelligent voters, because women do not take to politics as men do, and many of the most intellectual women would not mix into the political struggle; if they voted at all it would be merely to vote with their husbands to aid them in protecting the party principles. What is of vastly more importance, however, is the fact that we would double the number of ignorant voters, and the Lord knows that we have far too many of that kind already. Not one voter in ten knows anything at all of the great problems of this government, and if we gave the women the right to vote, not one in a dozen would ever know anything about the great political and economic problems which divide the nation. To double the number of ignorant voters adds an enormous burden to government.

* * *

Talk about "woman's rights," great Scott! she has more rights, more laws

made for her, more for her children, more humanitarian movements, more uplift legislation by far than the men, and yet, the suffragettes are yelling for more, more and more!

FROM THE LONDON OBSERVER

The Observer voices the feeling of a growing proportion of the citizens of Colorado.

Many quiet but earnest voices of protest are heard. A lady from Colorado last week told a group of friends in London that in her State woman suffrage had proved anything but a blessing. "It is frankly admitted in Denver," she said, "that the wisest women, and men as well, would be glad if they could revoke votes for women. They feel the best good is reached by high social and civic standards, and that, in forming these, women have boundless power. But rashly given franchise, as many of our states know to their bitter cost, is like the Old Man of the Sea—easier to take on your back than to get rid of."

Is it not fair that some of these American objections to female suffrage should be heard in England, since English propagandists of the movement urge their cause in America without let or hindrance?

"A nation which tries to lift its sexual morality by dragging the sexual problems to the street for the inspection of the crowd without shyness and without shame, and which wilfully makes them objects of gossip and stage entertainment, is doing worse than Munchausen when he tried to lift himself by his scalp."—PROF. MUENSTESBERG.

SENATE HONORS WOMAN

ALBANY, Feb. 4.—For the first time in the history of the State a woman—Miss Helen Ring Robinson, State Senator from Colorado—received the privilege of the floor of the New York State Senate to-day. Upon her arrival she was immediately escorted to the dais and given a seat beside Lieut.-Gov. Wagner.

In a short speech she congratulated New York upon "such an able body of men" and predicted that within a few years there would be as able a representation of women in that body.—EVENING SUN, Feb. 4, 1914.

Referring to persistent statements that U. S. Senator Root, long a determined and out-spoken opponent of woman suffrage, had in some degree modified his views, the Senator has issued an explicit denial of any such change of mind. "On the contrary," he says, "observation and reflection have strongly confirmed the adverse opinion which I expressed twenty years ago." The adverse opinion was this: "I am opposed to the granting of suffrage to women because it would be a loss to women, to all women and to every woman, and because it would be an injury to the state and to every man and every woman in the state."

In her recent address at the Troy woman-suffrage meeting, Miss Rose Winslow made what was really, though by no means so intended, a sharp attack on one of the positions of her own party, the position that women should be everywhere recognized, not only as the equals of men, but as their exact equivalents, and welcomed on the same terms in industrial pursuits. She said that "girls cannot get married because the young men of to-day do not get enough wages to take upon themselves the responsibility of a home and a family, and this is because women are forced to seek positions formerly occupied by men." True, no doubt. Is a remedy to be sought by transferring as many women as possible from the occupation of mothers and housekeepers to business callings, thus displacing as far as possible the men who might otherwise offer them marriage? Great is suffrage logic. —THE ALBANY KNICKERBOCKER.

John C. Ten Eyck's Argument

Synopsis of the argument of John C. Ten Eyck, representing the Guidon Club before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, December 5, 1913.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

The proper qualifications of a committee appointed to consider any subject depend on the nature of the subject committed to it. The proposal under consideration to create a special committee on woman suffrage, therefore calls for consideration of woman suffrage in all its bearings.

The grant of woman suffrage would affect citizens in almost every relation, governmental, economic, social, domestic. It would affect the nature of suffrage itself; for the exercise of suffrage now always indicates a preponderance of power behind the policies of state, but under universal suffrage many women and some men might carry an election in opposition to the majority of men. In this event suffrage would represent a preponderance of OPINION or SENTIMENT controlling the state in opposition to the preponderance of POWER in the state.

Since such a contingency might arise at any time, the grant of suffrage would jeopardize the STABILITY and SECURITY of government, and this jeopardy could only be guarded against by maintaining a standing army. It is obvious that the grant would affect economic and domestic relations, because political equality implies economic equality and under it men can be no more responsible to maintain their families than women. But women are unable to compete with men economically and also carry their natural burdens.

No plan of adjustment of this difficulty has been suggested that does not threaten the integrity of homes and of domestic relations as now established. The central and most active group of suffragists propose economic independence of married and single women. This logically calls for the support of families by the state in one way or another. It is impossible to anticipate what changes the grant of suffrage would bring about, but inasmuch as insistent demand is made for so drastic a change as is indicated, the committee would have to be qualified to consider these changes and also the effect of such changes upon the entire body of the statute and common law.

The subject, if committed, should be committed to a committee known to be conspicuously able to judge the vast possibilities of revolutionary change threatened by the proposed grant. The Judiciary Committee is therefore suggested as the committee best qualified, both by knowledge and experience, to deal with this subject. Moreover, the committee to which this subject should be committed should be free from all suspicion of bias; and a special committee could not be free from such suspicion because the representatives of the suffrage states would be influenced by their constituency to seek appointment upon it; representatives from the non-suffrage states would probably avoid appointments in order to escape annoyance.

If a committee whose members should be known to be favorable to suffrage, or a majority of whose members should come from suffrage states, should be appointed, its conclusions would be entitled to little weight. Although the suffragists are aware of this fact, they would doubtless make every effort to

secure a favorable committee, because by means of a favorable report they could impress the public with a claim of progress. Moreover whatever might be the nature of the committee, they would, in case of its appointment, have an opportunity for continued agitation before it.

It is therefore respectfully submitted that this subject should be considered either by the House itself without committment, of if committed, it should be committed to the Judiciary Committee.

SOCIALIST VIEWS OF WOMAN, MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMAN.

"Unless woman repudiates her womanliness, her duty to her husband, to her children, to society, to the law, and to everyone but herself, she cannot emancipate herself.

"Therefore woman has to repudiate duty altogether."—G. BERNARD SHAW. Quintessence of Ibsenism.

"WOMAN AN ANIMAL"

"Man and woman being animals, can we talk of matrimony on indissoluble bonds?"—A. BEBEL.

"MONOGAMY MUST BREAK DOWN"

"They [the Socialists] are, I say, quite aware that in such a society (as Socialism implies] the principle of rigid monogamy enforced by law and public opinion, as at present, must break down before a freer conception of human relationships, yet they are extremely chary of admitting this in so many words."—E. BELFORT BAX. Essays in Socialism.

NEW DEVELOPMENT OF THE FAMILY

"A new development of the family would take place . . . an association terminable at the needs of either party."—WILLIAM MORRIS AND BELFORT BAX. Socialism: its Growth and Outcome.

MARRIAGE NOT PERMANENT

"He [the Socialist] no more regards the institution of marriage as a permanent thing than he regards a state of competitive industrialism as a permanent thing."—H. G. WELLS. Fortnightly Review, November, 1906.

FREE LOVE

"I am in favour of free love. What love are we in favour of if not free love?

"I do want to abolish marriage. I do want to see the whole system of Society as at present constituted swept away.

"We want no marriage bonds. We want no bonds at all.

"We do want free love."—H. QUELCH, Editor of Justice. Speech at Kentish Town, November 12, 1907.

SOCIALIST MARRIAGES ADVOCATED

"I see no reason why we should not straightway begin to have Socialist marriages in our branch organizations."—J. LEATHAM. Socialism and Character.

Spurn Housework Jobs

Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 17.—Although they say they are starving and want work, nearly all of the girls and women registered at the Municipal Employment Bureau have refused every offer of domestic service. This was one of the things discovered to-day by the managers of the bureau established to help men and women who are out o work.

There are scores of domestic places open to applicants. Three thousand five hundred names are on the lists of the municipal bureau.—SUN.

Shall Women Vote?---An Attempt to Cut a Gordian Knot

By A. J. Wolfgarten, Ph. D.

The following article which we print in three parts, is published by the Central Bureau of the German Roman Catholic Central Verein of St. Louis:

While I have long been eager to express my views and those of good Catholic authorities on woman's suffrage, I have nevertheless refrained from doing so until now, partly on account of the delicate nature of the subject and the intricacy of its ramifications, partly because I was well aware that on the high sea of first enthusiasm over an unlooked-for success there could be no smooth sailing with our women in the prosaic barque of common sense; but principally for fear of indulging an altogether too impatient expectation on the part of Catholics to hear a priest's pronouncement on the matter. St. Paul (Tim. 3.6) describes a class of latter-day heretics as going about perverting "silly women who are led away with diverse desires, ever learning and never attaining to the knowledge of truth." Plainly, I should not wish to belong to that class of perverters. Besides, the Gospel of Christ which the priest is bound to preach, is like a two-edged sword piercing the heart, not like brass or noisemaking cymbal flattering vulgar ears. If then, in spite of such misgivings I still purpose to treat the same subject (now that the first hubbub has somewhat subsided), it is because I have come to the conclusion that, what seemed morbid curiosity, may have been, after all, a laudable and sincere desire to know the truth in such a new and bewildering and at the same time far-reaching problem; that our Catholic women (and men as well) have a right to be informed in regard to its inner morality or immorality, and its relation to Catholic faith and life; that therefore the priest is in duty bound to instruct them in this as in all other questions pertaining directly or indirectly to religion.

A Question of Principles Involved

The woman's question is not merely a political or social one; it strikes deep at fundamental Christian principles and must needs have a beneficial or baneful influence upon Christian society. Whether we are suffragists or "Conservationists," it stands to reason that, as Catholics, we can be neither the one nor the other without due regard to such principles as well as to the eventual gain or loss of Christianity.—Hence, if you expected to be treated to a blustering political harangue, you would be sorely disappointed. My discourse shall be, as it ought to be, a plain Catholic treatment of a semi-religious subject. Yet, since a subject of this kind, on account of its remoteness from the scope of explicit revelation, must be treated philosophically, that is to say, since it cannot be shown in its bearing on revealed religion except by a process of deduction and induction; since moreover the premises for such reasoning on the part of suffrage, to wit, an exact and fixed notion of what woman's suffrage really is or purports to be, the facts in question, and the inevitable consequences according to the laws of nature or the fabric of human society are difficult to obtain, much of what I have to say may not seem convincing. However, this should not disturb you, my friends, or make

my address altogether futile. Take the arguments for what they are worth as coming from one who has had more than a passing glimpse of human life, social conditions past and present and the vicissitudes of natural history, and who is animated, as doubtless all of you are animated, with a surpassing love of the religion of Jesus Christ by which we would fain measure all things.

Attitude of the Church Not Specifically Defined

The Catholic Church has defined nothing for or against woman's suffrage as such; had she done so, there would be no room for arguing or difference of opinion among us. But she has not, and in all probability will not—any more than she would pronounce on styles of dress or literature. Should anything in the new movement prove to clash with Catholic faith or morals, that particular phase of it at least would thereby stand condemned, just as dress stands condemned if it offends against modesty, or literature if it offends against faith or morals. Should any particularly impious and destructive outcropping in the movement threaten to play havoc with her own children, ah, yes, then she would speak and her pronouncement would be hailed by every Catholic as a great blessing.

I spoke of the remoteness of the woman's question from the revealed word of God, for Holy Writ has nothing on the matter. It demands of woman great personal purity, fidelity and obedience to her husband, humility and reserve, but all this does not militate against, is not incompatible with suffrage directly and per se. It praises the strong woman, the economic housewife, the virgin and the sedate widow, it furnishes us with most inspiring examples of feminine fortitude, devotion, wisdom, sacrifice, industry, courage and patriotism; it even relates to us how a simple woman became the mother of the God-man—but all this does not contain in itself a whit of justification for woman's suffrage. You understand then, that there is no immediate religious ground to fear lest a cherished conviction or fancy of yours, one way or the other, should be shattered from the outset. It all depends; for let me say right here, what I hope to prove later on, that there is woman-suffrage wholly good (or at least harmless), and woman-suffrage wholly bad; the one you may espouse, the other you must reject unhesitatingly. Then, there is much confusion betwixt and between these two extremes, and here you must choose cautiously, winnow, if possible, the chaff from the good wheat, or else stand aloof.

What is Suffrage?—Some Primary Considerations

Suffrage, from the Latin suffragium, means vote, or the right to vote. That women should clamor for the vote or that legislatures should grant it to them, as has become the fashion of late, cannot be condemned beforehand and outright, or unconditionally. In fact many impartial considerations would seem to warrant it, aye, to be frank, the theory of the "rights of man" underlying our modern free governments would seem to demand it (waiving for the present the correctness of that theory). Some thirty years ago I had my first argument on the woman question, and I remember well how I met my first argument on the woman question, and I remember well how I met my opponent, who was then considered a crank, by a disdainful: tut, tut! long hair and short reason. I had read in books that the average brain of woman fell short several ounces of that of man. Of course this was puerile, "poppy-cock," as the college lad of to-day would say. If reasoning-power, especially coupled with education, were to decide the matter, many, many women ought to have the vote where many men ought not to have it. But then again, our precious youths and maidens ought to have it likewise on the same score, and there is no doubt

but these will be found lobbying for it in the near future on the plea that they, too, have rights and interests of their own, that their superior knowledge of the principles of government, their keener insight in civic and political affairs, qualifies them to discharge so weighty a privilege better than millions of men and women now enjoying it. Why! The superintendent of the Chicago Public schools (Mrs. Ella Flagg Young) is of the belief (according to press reports) that our children will soon act as instructors to poor, ill-educated parents in sex hygiene. Think of it! Why then should not they also vote? In like manner there is no reason for apprehension on the score of moral integrity. Surely women as a class can boast of equal morality with men, if not of better. But neither could we pronounce in favor of unrestricted woman suffrage on the basis of moral worth. On such requirements not ALL women should vote any more than all men, for among them are many of dissolute principles and practices and criminal inclinations just as among men, and we may well suppose that wherever universal suffrage is established a goodly number of the crooked politicians will be furnished by the women. To say that there are at least ten bad men to every bad woman (as did one of the suffrage leaders recently, Lucy Page Gaston) is hardly in keeping with truth or propriety. Again the decision cannot be passed on the strength of patriotism, i. e. love of country or national institutions, for else female as well as male anarchists, socialists, and foreigners who remain aliens to the land of adoption in spite of naturalization papers, should be barred alike. Nor on the strength of industry, thrift, property and the like, for thus idle, spend-thrift, penniless women should be disfranchised together with "Weary Willies," prodigals, and all paupers.

You see, along these lines we shall never come to a definite conclusion. We shall have to search deeper, for underlying principles, and motives, and probable results, if we wish either to justify or to disavow woman's suffrage. One and the same thing, apparently, v. g. almsgiving, may be good or bad or indifferent according to these three, viz. the moral principle upon which it rests, the end intended, and the results; so also woman's suffrage.

I. The Positive Side—From the Viewpoint of Social and Economic Advancement

Now then, if, leaving intact natural limitations and inequality of sex, leaving intact above all the Christian idea of the family, the privilege of voting is asked, or granted, or used solely for the betterment of social conditions, for the protection of feminine interests, especially those of independent working women, for the purification of politics, the uplifting of public morality, the safeguarding of the family, the care of orphans, education, charity, the good of religion—then woman's suffrage would seem not only justifiable but excellent and even necessary under present-day circumstances and in democratic governments. At least the basic and more important principles underlying the woman question are safeguarded first, and only good is intended; as to actual good results we shall see later. To say to-day: "Woman belongs at home" would sound too old-fashioned and meaningless. Certainly married women belong at home, at least where and when the home requires it; nor should any woman, married or unmarried, enter the public arena of political strife if she wishes to maintain her womanly dignity and the sweet fragrance of reserve. Yet, in the first place, millions of women have no home, such as is understood here, and secondly, why should the casting of a ballot together with the necessary gathering of information to cast it intelligently, why should that interfere materially with household duties? Besides, according to the very

supposition we have made, married women will always respect the opinion, aye, the authority, of their husbands in this as in every other weighty matter, yes, of their husbands, who, ordinarily at least, are their own as well as their children's best friends on earth; hence no clash in family life need be feared.

But above all consider the army of working women (some 8-10 millions in these U. S. alone) earning a livelihood in all kinds of industrial and professional occupations—should these not have a voice in the making of laws or in the choice of those who make and enforce them? And if they happen to be taxed for one thing or the other should they have no representation? Will unscrupulous modern commercialism always heed their natural rights, their just demands? Why, no! No matter how many unions they form, because owing to the keen competition in all fields, and their comparative weakness in numbers and self-assertion and otherwise, very many of these women will rather yield to slave conditions than jeopardize their existence. The statistics of underpaid women-workers, unreasonably long working hours, unsanitary shops and the consequent physical and moral misery among our own working-women v. g. are disgraceful and appalling. The industry of our time has neither heart nor moral sense, and though laws alone will not allay cruelty or abuse, they will go far in checking the fiendish greed of inhuman capital. It were folly to say that sane and very explicit legislation is not needed here. But will legislators easily appreciate the needs and just claims of such women if not enlightened by a strong ballot of the parties most interested, legislators, I say, who are frequently the creatures, and therefore the vassals of moneyed interests? In regard to other things concerning women directly, or in which they are more deeply interested ordinarily than men, we might argue the same way.

So we have found at least one species of woman's suffrage which both in principle and scope is not only not reprehensible but is seemingly good and desirable. And the strict meaning of suffrage might here be extended a little, for what we have found to justify the vote, holds good also with regard to the tenure of certain public offices which lie well within woman's sphere, and should be accorded her lavishly in the name of justice, for the benefit of her own sex, and the welfare of society generally. Hence if you should ask on principle whether as Catholics it were lawful for you to advocate, abet or make use of woman's suffrage, my personal answer would be: This kind, yes. As a matter of fact there exist the world over a number of Catholic woman's leagues for social and political female influence or position along such or similar lines as here depicted, and never, never would the church interfere if woman suffrage meant nothing else, or if other weightier reasons did not render it inopportune.

(To be continued)

Criticises Woman's Jury

Redwood City, Cal., Jan. 17.—The first "woman's Grand Jury," so-called, in California was not a great success, in the opinion of Judge George H. Buck of the Superior Court, who discharged the jury here yesterday after he had received its report and said what he thought about it.

Eleven members of the body were women. The court criticised the jury for its unfavorable reports on county officers, which he told the jurors were based on inadequate knowledge and concerned matters essentially trivial.

The Debate Under Auspices of the Civic Forum

In the debate at Carnegie Hall, January 26, 1914, under the auspices of The Civic Forum, Mr. Everett P. Wheeler said in part:—

The first point in a discussion like this is to see distinctly where the two sides differ. We who are opposed to the extension of political suffrage to women do not object to either of two things:

1. To the giving to all citizens who are women the same civil rights that men, as citizens, have.

2. To giving to women who are qualified the opportunity to do any right work that they are fit to do.

What we do object to is the imposition of the burden of political activity upon the women citizens of voting age, which the majority do not desire and for which most of them are unfitted by virtue of their very constitution and the part they have to perform in the body politic, which is of far greater importance than any political part. We maintain that the effect of political suffrage to women wherever it has existed for any considerable time has been evil and not good. We maintain that there is no good result which could be attained by the extension of political suffrage to all women citizens that cannot be better accomplished by leaving the suffrage where it is, allowing, however, free opportunity to qualified women to impress their views of social reform upon the voters and upon committees of legislative bodies.

1. There have been times undoubtedly, both ancient and modern, when the civil rights of women, both in person and property, have not been as well protected as those of men. But without the ballot and by force of reason and argument in most civilized countries the person of woman and her property are now just as sacred, just as carefully guarded, and in many instances more so than those of man. For example, a woman who is a citizen has precisely the same rights to appeal to the courts for protection that a man has. If she needs more immediate protection than the courts can give, she has the same right to appeal to the police. And what is more perhaps than either, in the progress of civilization, under the influence of the Christian ideal of the true relation between the sexes, there has grown to be a sentiment of chivalry on the part of the man. A man will go quicker to the protection of an injured woman than he will to the protection of an injured man. If a ship is sinking, the women and children first enter the boats. Women are exempt from jury duty and from military duty, requirements which are burdensome upon men. The whole legislation in reference to the age of consent protects the person of a woman in a way in which the person of man is not protected.

2. There have undoubtedly been many periods in history, both ancient and modern, in which the woman did not have opportunities of education or for the use of her talents comparable to those of man. But in all civilized countries now, education is open to women. In many countries, and especially in America, colleges are endowed, high schools and common schools are supported by the state and are open equally to women as to men. There are many women physicians, many more women nurses. The majority of teachers in America are women. They are trained at the public expense and provision is rapidly being made for similar training in other countries.

There are exceptional women who are called to great public careers. I would not hold them back. In this State where women have not political suffrage, that noble woman, Katherine Bement

Davis, has just been made head of the Department of Correction in this city of five million people.

The suffragists love to refer to Joan of Arc. Had I lived in her time I would gladly have marched under her banner. She was the greatest general in France. The suffrage did not put her at the head of the army. She was too wise to ask the women of France to follow her. She knew it was better for the commonwealth that they should do their duty at home.

No doubt there are many instances where women have to work to earn a living, just as men do. They always have done this. In the old days, spinning and weaving at home was work. It is also work when done in a factory. Indeed many women reformers advocate the prohibition of work in the house for pay, and maintain that it is better to have this done in a factory. In any case it was work in the old days and is work now. But that ought not to be considered an objection by those who want women to be on the same plane as men. The great majority of human beings earn their own living in one way or another. The American idea is that labor is honorable; that those who earn their living are really more to be respected than those who do not. So let us dismiss the claim that the suffrage is necessary to enable women to be freed from the duty of earning their own living.

Other suffragists argue that if they get into power and control legislatures they will raise the wages of women. This can never be done by legislation except in the case of persons employed by the state.

3. I come then to my third point which is that we ought not to impose the burden of the suffrage upon the majority of women who do not want it, and who are satisfied with their present condition. I see it stated in one of the suffragist pamphlets that the suffrage has never been extended on the demand of those who did not have it. That is one of the false statements that are frequent in suffrage literature. Their authors draw upon their imagination for their facts. The reverse of this statement is the truth. In England at the end of the Eighteenth Century there was a very general demand from those who had not the suffrage that they should receive it. This demand was ignored for a while owing to the wars of the French Revolution. But as soon as Waterloo was won and the English were at liberty to attend to their own affairs, the demand came with redoubled force and the Reform Bill of 1831, extending the franchise to many cities and districts which had no representation whatever in parliament, was the result.

The truth is that all this talk about equal political rights to legislative representation is falacious. The senator from Colorado represents a state with a population of 2,377,549. Yet his vote in the Senate has the same weight as that of a senator from New York, which has a population of 9,113,279, four times as much. Eight suffrage states have a population less than that of New York. Yet they have sixteen votes in the Senate to our two. Where is the equality here? All these matters are the subject of agreement. Do not delude yourselves with the phantasm of absolute political equality. It exists nowhere.

I see it often stated that the 7,000,000 of women wage earners in the United States are so many arguments for giving the franchise to women. If this were a valid argument it would be countered by the statement that the 17,000,000 wives and mothers in this country are so many arguments against it. We ought not to legislate for the minority against the will of the majority.

But in point of fact half these wage earners are under voting age and when they come to voting age most of them join the ranks of the married women.

Within a week I see this announcement in the papers:

"Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee to-day became

Chairman of the Democratic State Committee of Colorado. She says she is a machine politician. According to her view the machine impregnable and unassailable alone can assure party success. I expect to remain Chairman of the State Committee until after the elections next fall. My aim is to organize our party so that Democrats will be returned for all these offices. Senator Thomas' term expires. We cannot afford to let a Republican succeed him."

Permit me to point out that it is very natural that a senator should favor suffrage for women, when he has a well-organized machine headed by a clever woman who favors woman suffrage, and who favors his re-election. We did not expect Mr. Murphy, during the recent campaign, to speak ill of Tammany Hall. No more can we expect a politician from a suffrage state, to speak ill of woman suffrage.

4. That brings me to the fourth point, which is that the extension of political suffrage to woman has produced bad results wherever it has long existed and is sure to do so wherever it is long permitted to continue. The reason of this is obvious.

All history shows that when women are engrossed with public contests and ambitions they become vindictive and implacable. It was the women in the amphitheatre that raised the hand for the death of the gladiator. It was a woman that urged Macbeth to slay Duncan. It was a woman that pressed the reluctant Charles to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was women who sat around the guillotine in 1792, and who fired the houses of suspects and slew their inmates during the commune.

All this is natural,—is indeed inevitable. The whole trend of civilization has been to specialize. The woman alone can be a mother. That duty, that privilege, that burden is denied to man. To the good mother the one child is the object of immediate care and attention, necessarily so, otherwise the infant would perish. John Fiske has pointed out that in the long duration of infancy we find a prime cause of development of the moral nature, the features of patient, unselfish devotion and the like. When the woman gets into political strife she is as fierce and regardless of consequences as she would be for her child.

5. Now let me come to the fifth point. Long experience in politics has convinced me that the reformers who really have political influence are those who do not want anything for themselves. The regular politicians recognize that politics is a game, and is perfectly legitimate in their opinion to play it for all it is worth. But they despise a man who pretends to be an independent and to genuinely wish the public welfare and yet is found after election in the ranks of the office seekers. A man who is known to be independent and who asks nothing for himself, who studies his subject and speaks intelligently about it, will always have a hearing before a legislative Committee or an executive. But the man who has an axe to grind, unless he belongs to the regular machine, is listened to, if at all, with ill-concealed aversion. In their present position, intelligent, thoughtful women who give serious study to social problems receive great consideration, quite as much as they ought. If anything, the tendency of legislators is to attach undue importance to their opinions, which are often the result of sentiment rather than of reflection. Once get the women into the game of politics, make it the object of political leaders to get out all the women to vote and induce them, if possible, to vote against the husbands or their brothers, and the influence for good of the intelligent and wise woman will be less than it is now.

I have argued this subject thus far upon the basis of the suffrage for women as a question by itself. But I appeal especially to the many good and noble women who are suffragists, some of whom I see before me and for whom I have unfeigned respect, to consider

seriously that the question of the suffrage is but a small part of the Feminist Movement, and that what the most zealous advocates of woman suffrage really want is independence and domination. That is what Inez Milholland stated frankly a year ago. As Edna Kenton said in the Century last November, "It is sex war. Who doubts it?" She speaks of women as being "the suppressed sex." She declares against "the unspeakable dullness of unvaried home life. It has been a long deadly routine, a life servitude imposed upon her for ages in a man-made world. Of the Feminist Movement, so-called, suffrage is a tiny part." She speaks of the good wife and mother as "a parasite." She declares:

"It was St. Paul who laid down the Christian ideal for women. Nothing invented of man has ever had a more stultifying effect upon the character and morals of women and of men."

Let us stop a moment to ask what was St. Paul's ideal.' It was in the first place one of absolute purity in the sex relation.. The nasty spectacles which were common in the Roman Empire as they are to-day, he condemned. He knew nothing of any double standard. His standard for man as for woman was the highest. So was that of St. Paul's Master, Christ Himself. This according to Miss Kenton is stultifying. Another suffragist in the December Atlantic speaks a little more plainly. Mr. W. L. George, a prominent spokesman of the Feminist Movement in England, declares of the English feminists, "They are emphatically arrayed against modern marriage which they look upon as union." "Modern marriage represents a condition of sex slavery." "In the main feminists are opposed to indissoluble Christian marriage."

In the great suffragist congress at Buda Pesth last summer Madam Veronee declared with applause: "We make no difference between legitimate motherhood and illegitimate motherhood." For this she was showered with flowers.

When Roman women were emancipated from their legal bondage, they lost their sense of duty and responsibility; they lost their reverence for home and the family tie; they lost their sense of duty to their children. No longer did a Roman matron say as the mother of the Gracchi said of her children:

"These are my jewels."

The result was that the Roman Empire, which was then the greatest in the world, decayed and went to pieces.

SOME ITEMS OF INTEREST FROM A CONTEMPORARY

A great number of printed postal cards were sent out by the female-suffragist propaganda, some weeks ago, begging the recepients not to fail to read a story then recently published, as it gave convincing arguments for votes for women. It is interesting to note that the publisher of the book thus commended was indicted for mailing it, as being obscene matter unfit for circulation, and that, although the jury failed to convict (reasoning very sensibly that the book was not much worse than quantities of other matter that is daily mailed) yet that the judge's charge condemned the moral (or immoral) tone of the story in such strong terms as would quite have justified, so far as the court is concerned, a verdict of guilty.

Boston Mayor Ousts Women

[By Telegraph to The Tribune]

Boston, Feb. 9.—Mayor Curley dealt a hard blow to the suffragists to-day when he announced that he would not only not give any jobs to women, but that he would discharge those already employed in the Mayor's office.

Farm Woman's Forum

THIS DEPARTMENT WILL BE GLAD TO ANSWER QUESTIONS FROM READERS RELATIVE TO THE INTERESTS OF FARM WOMEN.

We can best answer the Farmer's wife who writes for facts regarding the law relating to injuries to servants or workmen, by quoting from The Rural New Yorker of Feb. 14, 1914.

Since we printed a statement of the Employer's Liability law in Connecticut there have been many requests for the facts about the New York law. Does it make farmers and housekeepers liable for injuries to servants or workmen? The attorney-general declines to make a ruling on this point, because the law is in charge of a commission whose duty it is to interpret the law. He points, however, to a paragraph in Section 3, which reads as follows:

4. "Employee" means a person who is engaged in a hazardous employment in the service of an employer, carrying on or conducting the same upon the premises or at the plant, or in the course of his employment away from the plant of his employer; and shall not include farm laborers or domestic servants.

This makes it clear and there can be no question about it, for the law states that the word employee under the law "SHALL NOT INCLUDE FARM LABORERS." Thus farm laborers and domestic servants are expressly excluded, and farmers are not made liable. When the Connecticut law was passed it was thought that employers who had less than five hands were excluded and small farmers were told that they were exempt. When the law comes to be enforced the lawyers found a "joker" in it which made farmers liable the same as other employers. In Connecticut farmers are, generally taking out insurance for protection in case of injury to hired men.—The Rural New Yorker, Feb. 14.

Suffragists will tell you that the vote will lessen the burdens of the Farm woman, but they do not tell in just what respect.

It is very easy for the women who have little to do, to take their automobiles and go to the polls, but for the busy woman, politics mean added burdens, for one must know how to vote, as well as to cast the ballot.

The vote has never made the Farmer's life any easier, and doubling the vote doubles the work for the women.

Editor.

A Suffragist lady who came here with books to sell, told me that if I could vote, I would have entire control of my property in this state, and equal say about my children with my husband.

K. C. W.
Pine, Ct.

In your State, the law now makes fathers and mothers joint guardians of their children, also gives a wife absolute control of her separate property, if married, since April 20, 1877.

In Colorado, where woman Suffrage has existed for twenty years, parents are joint guardians of their children, but no mention is made of any law giving a woman absolute control of her property.

Connecticut is in advance of Colorado now in laws benefiting women and these laws were put on the statute books by men.

Editor.

Book Reviews and Notes

HAGAR. BY MARY JOHNSON. Houghton Miffin Co., 1913.

The core of this novel is in its closing lines. The pity of it that such lines should be written and published by an American woman with reputation enough to cause them to be read by American youth. The lines are these:

"It grows like a dream," said Hagar. "Death, life—death . . . . . I think that we are growing into something that transcends both—as we have known both"—

"Hagar, do you love me?"

"Yes, I love you. . . .It's a quiet love, but it's deep."

"Let us go to London. I will go to Roger Michael's. We will marry quietly there."

* * *

She looked at him with eyes that smiled and yet were grave. "You're aware that you are marrying a working woman, who intends to continue to work?"

"I'm aware."

Her candid eyes continued to meet his. "I wish a child. While it needs me and when it needs me, I shall be there."

His hand closed over hers. "Is it as though I did not know that"—

She kissed him on the lips. "And you're aware that I shall work on through life for the fairer social order? And that, generally speaking, the Woman Movement has me for keeps?"

"I'm aware. I'm going to help you."

AN ENGLISH WOMAN'S HOME. By M. E. S., author of "Mixed Herbs," "A Working Woman's Remonstance against the Suffrage Agitation. 30 cts. by mail.

In this little volume we have, set forth in ten chapters, concisely and convincingly, the working woman's reasons for opposing Woman Suffrage. Under such pithy headings as "Pots and Pans, and Proper Pride," "Not at Home," "Woman Suffrage and Woman's Self," the chapters present and develop clear and vital objections to the imposition of any extra burden upon the shoulder of the female wage earner. The value of the book lies in the circumstance that it comes from the pen of a working woman, and impresses that point of view upon the reader as no other book on the subject has yet done. For, although the status of women in England may differ somewhat from that of American women, the objections to a political life for women expressed in "An Elglish-woman's Home," must voice those of the majority of thinking women wage earners, everywhere.

In a paragraph in the chapter, "A Working Woman's Appeal" she writes: "That the fashionable unemployed, the high and dry professional women do not understand or know us in the smallest degree, is never shown so conspicuously as when they meet the statement that women dread the prospect of being forced to add political responsibilities to their own so highly specialized ones, with their contemptuous retort: 'My good woman, why all this fuss? You have only got to do just what the men of your own class have done before you.' That is the rock on which comes our great split. We are NOT going to do just what the men have done, for the simple reason that they ARE men and WE are women; and that, down in the working class, the very definite distinction that exists between the spheres of the sexes, has by no means been yet juggled away."

And again, under "Pots and Pans, and Proper Pride;" "On her own showing, the political woman removed from the restraining presence of man will speedily relapse into barbarism. Not

only this scorn for pots and pans, but the Suffragist contempt for all cultivation of the exquisite in housekeeping as a pandering to masculine preferences, point to the male as a civilizing factor in the community. To judge by Suffragist pronouncements, woman, left to herself would be content to live in a cave, and a very dirty cave at that, with an eternal cup of tea and a biscuit' for her menu."

"An Englishwoman's Home" is a book that should be read by men as widely as by women, if the masculine portion of the community would be fairly prepared to meet the issue that will so soon be forced upon them.

For the information of such men the chapter entitled "Woman's Suffrage and Woman's Self" is especially to be recommended for consideration. On page 96 we read:

"That the effect of enfranchisement upon herself persoally will be extremely disadvantageous is a consideration which should perhaps be put on one side by her with that unselfishness which has characterized men's abstention from action on this same question. But when reflection shews that the hurt done to women by asking them to undertake politicial responsibilities inaddition to their own domestic, social and professional ones, is likely to have most disastrous results for the community, it seems high time to ask whether the sacrifices the country is being called on to make for the Tory belief that all women will vote Conservative, and for the equally strong Labor conviction that no woman can think imperially, are not too high a price to pay for the gratification of the election candidate. Woman is forced at last to formulate her objection against the imposition on her of a threefold task which even the politician would hesitate to aska man to perform.*****It is fortunate that the Suffragists have been reminding us that it is the female toiler upon whom the new burden will be imposed; that it will devolve precisely upon the woman whose hands are already over-full with a wage-earning and housekeeping task. The young girls just escaped from the schoolrooms of the wealthy, the married ladies who get their housekeeping done apparently, by some of the patent automatic devices which are the pride of our times, have been much to the fore in endeavoring to procure the imposition of the suffrage, and will doubtless still be just as much en evidence if their efforts achieve success; but for all that, it is not upon them the burden will really rest. They may, we presume, be reckoned on to do much of the fighting, the shrieking and the biting that will become a stereotyped feature of political life once the feminine element has a permanent place in it, but the actual voters will be, according to Suffragist computation, 90 percent of them wage earners, and of the working class so-called."

THE HAT SHOP. By MRS. C. S. PEEL. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.25.

"Everyone—man and woman—should be obliged to earn his living, and to earn it hardly, for at least six months of his existence. It should be as much a part of his education as learning to read and write, for most of the trouble in life is due to the fact that one-half of the world does not know how the other half lives."

Thus speaks Margot, in private life Margaret Des Voeux, in the business world, head saleswoman and manageress at the Hat Shop of Madame Delaine.

Now this is precisely what the human and loveable Mrs. Earle, alias Madame Delaine learns to do in all the time of her contact with that "other half." A society woman, who goes into the millinery business as much for diversion, as to supplement her bank account, she comes to know practically, a sideM she comes to know PRACTICALLY, a side of life, over which the would-be friend of the working girl generally skims without penetrating below the surface.

And during the heroine's process of

enlightenment, we are entertained by frequent flashes of humor, pathos, and deft characterization. As for example, who has not known a Mrs. Steppings, who, "in her Tuckett confection of dust-colored voile with a hat of the same mild shade surmounting her dust-colored face and hair, looked rather like a sand heap?"

Or who can fail to recognize "Miss Emmett the bookkeeper, a picture of youthful middle-class respectability who "sat silent, compressed into a surprisingly small portion of her chair and blushed at intervals. She was one of those young women to whom a man is an excitement; in the presence of one her promness increased, but through it glowed an almost fierce feminity."

After a long interview with the commonplace little girl betrothed to the cleric, described as the "middle-aged, goatlike Julius," in regard to a SENSIBLE trousseau, Madame Delaine bursts forth;

"There are some people who rouse my worst passions. Lady Juliet (the prospective bride)roused them to-day. I should like to take her and dye her hair and paint her face, and tie her up in lace and ribbons and—and give her to a pirate, and when the pirate had finished with her she could wash off the paint and marry her Julius and work in the parish and help souls to heaven, for then she'd know something about hell."

Madame Delaine, or Elizabeth a wes come to know her, visits, in a Workhouse Infirmary, one of her working girls who has "found too late that men betray," and as she leaves the dreary building at the termination of a tactful interview of few words, she repeats to herself a remark recently made in her hearing: "The girl knows that she'll do the paying when it comes to trouble," adding, "every woman who accepts that doctrine helps to make it possible."

At the conclusion of a dull dinner who could not say with Meriel: "I feel as if I had been dining with the duchess for weeks and weeks and weeks!"

Aside from the fact that "The Hat Shop" is a diverting tale, it is one that carries a decided lesson with it. No problem, not so bad as that, rather a wholesome eye-opener to conscienceless shoppers, those women who "do not realize that time is money**and always think that you can sell the thing they return, to someone else."

When Elizabeth eventually anchors in the desired haven of a good man's love, and she is unburdening herself to him on the seeming injustices of life, he sums the whole thing up from his judicial unemotional view-point, which come as a refreshing note against the chorus of feminine quaverings:

"But after all, my dear, when you com

"But after all, my dear, when you come to think of it, we don't know, we who can never know the beginning or end of any story."

Suffrage in Germany Fails

Special Cable Despatch to The Sun

Berlin, Jan. 17.—The woman's suffrage movement in Germany received its third severe blow this week by the formal secession of the Munich and Hamburg organizations owing to personal differences of the leaders over the election of a national executive committee. This is typical of the whole movement in Germany.

The failure of this movement to accomplish more than it has is attributable, according to Minna Cauer, the founder of the Progressive Woman's Suffrage League, to the women themselves. "Their utter lack of solidarity," she says, "has split them up into innumerable sections and parties, while a tremendous obstacle to woman suffrage in Germany is that the Kaiser, the Empress, the Church, the State and the press are almost solidly against it."

Press News and Notes

Two very interesting constitutional questions have been raised in the press that seriously affect woman suffrage—One is this: "Is there a limit to Constitutional amendment?" The American Republic was founded upon a Constitution that was the final authority save only for "reserved rights of the States." The work of amending the Federal Constitution is now as freely entered upon as that of the amending of State Constitutions used to be. The serious question is can amendments depriving the states of control over their own elections be passed and become binding? Can Federal power compel states to adopt measures that may lead to woman suffrage, or measures that may lead to prohibition? If it can then this is not a union of independent states but a government with a tyrannical centralizing grasp upon citizens such as no despot has dreamed of.

* * *

The other question raised is this: Can a State decree Constitutional woman suffrage and remain an integral part of a true republic? A very strong, it would seem, an unanswerable, argument can be made to the effect that it cannot. The basal fact is that a republic must rest upon the provision of one vote to one possible defender of its result. The argument that lame and blind men vote does not bear on the essential truth for if ti appreciably affected the result they would not be allowed to do so. In the elections of Swiss Cantons they have been forbidden for that very reason.

Clergymen in England are not elegible for election to the House of Commons—they are non-combatants. By the way, this suggests the interesting question whether the clergy of the English Church are therefore "classed with lunatics, criminals and idiots."

Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, who has been a persistent declaimer against the fact that woman suffrage meant home distruction is reported as advising women to drop the title "Mrs." because it is "a mark of servitude" and "no more dignified than the branding of cattle with the name or mark of the master." Think of it! the honor title by which woman has secured acknowledgement that she is mistress of a husband's heart and home is looked upon. Out upon it!

The bill to secure woman watchers at the polls on election day in New York State, was not in accordance with the desire of the suffragists who pushed it. It provides for them only in case a woman suffrage measure is voted upon. that it may never be.

South Carolina Rejects Suffrage

Columbia, S. C., Jan. 25.—By adopting unanimously the unfavorable report of the Committee on Judiciary the House of Representatives has killed the bill extending the right of suffrage to women in this state. The bill also would have permitted women to practise law.—TRIBUNE, Jan. 26, 1914.

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All Clubs, or Societies with the above object in view are asked to send reports of their work to this department. Reports must be received by the 10th of the month

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